

The Capitol Disaster

A CHAPTER OF RECONSTRUCTION
IN VIRGINIA

BY

Hon. George L. Christian

OF

Richmond, Virginia

Sold for the Benefit of the Associated Charities of
Richmond, Va.

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*"Blessed is he that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver
him in time of trouble."—Psalm XLI. 1.*

Associated Charities of Richmond, Va.

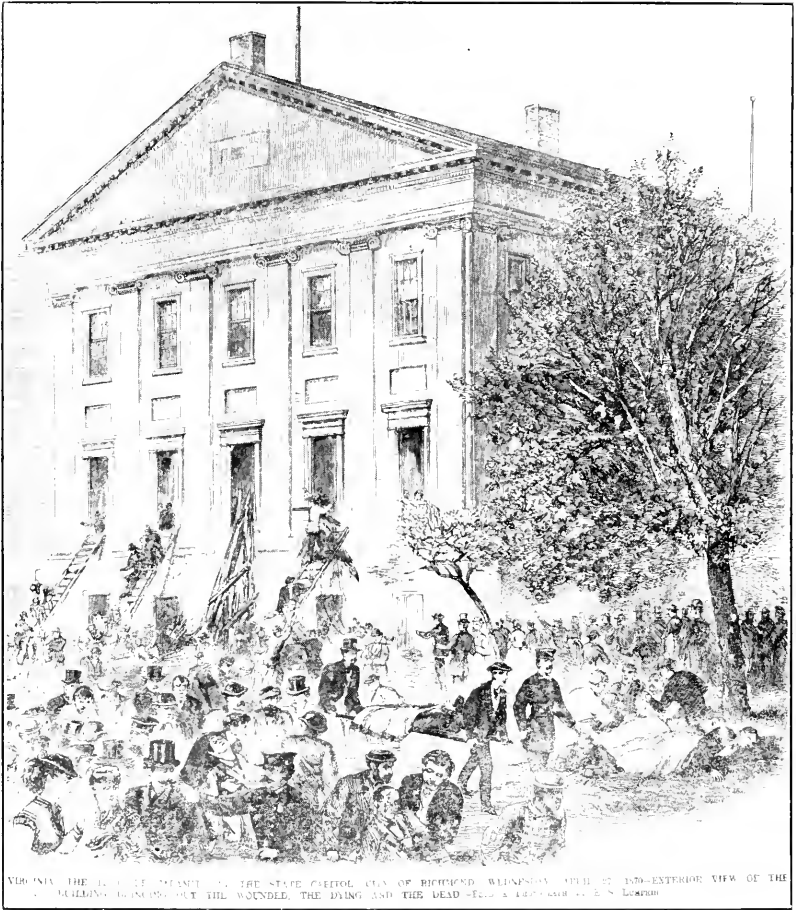
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Richmond, Va., Feb. 12th, 1915.

WHEREAS, the Directors of the Associated Charities of Richmond, Virginia, have been advised that the Hon. George L. Christian, of this city, has prepared a short history of the "Capitol Disaster", covering a most interesting period of Reconstruction days in Virginia, and that gentlemen, friends of Judge Christian, have agreed to provide for its publication; that Judge Christian has kindly proposed to dedicate the publication to the Associated Charities, and he and his friends have generously tendered the proceeds from the sale of the publication to this Organization; NOW THEREFORE, be it resolved that we express our grateful appreciation of the gracious offer by Judge Christian and his friends, and resolved further that we pledge our best efforts to secure the widest possible circulation for the publication.

O. A. HAWKINS, President
Associated Charities
James Buchanan, Secretary



VIRGINIA. THE 11th MARCH 1862. THE STATE CAPITOL CITY OF RICHMOND. WEDNESDAY. APRIL 27 1862—EXTERIOR VIEW OF THE BUILDING OCCUPIED BY THE WOUNDED, THE DYING AND THE DEAD—(Engraving by E. S. Loring)

THE CAPITOL DISASTER

A CHAPTER OF RECONSTRUCTION IN VIRGINIA.

Richmond is, and we think, of right ought to be, regarded as one of the most historic cities in this country. Apart from its *pre-revolutionary*, *revolutionary* and *post-revolutionary* fame and incidents (some of which, although meagerly recorded, are full of interest), it was for four years of terrible war, the Capital and Citadel of the South, during which period, nearly every movement of the armies of the North were directed at its capture or destruction, and during much of that time, it was, literally

“A looming bastion fringed with fire”.

When deeds of daring and devotion could no longer prevail against “overwhelming numbers and resources,” and the City had to be surrendered by the Confederates; two-thirds of the business portion were left in ashes, and the rest of it almost in a condition of starvation and desolation.

In the defence of the city, its people were subjected to sufferings and sacrifices rarely endured, and they were, almost daily, the witnesses of scenes and experiences which, at other times, and amid other environments, would have been deemed *disasters* or *calamities*. Whilst referring to these things, the purposes of this paper are not to describe any of them; but merely to show, *why one of the two great historical disasters* in the life of the city (each about equally destructive of human life, and productive of human sorrow and suffering) has left a more lasting and vivid impression on its history than the other.

The *first* of these two memorable disasters occurred on December 26th, 1811, when the “Richmond Theatre” was destroyed by fire; when seventy-two human lives were lost (among them the then Governor of the State), and many others were injured in escaping from the flames.

The *second* occurred on April 27th, 1870, when the floors of the court room and clerk’s office of the Supreme Court of Appeals of the State (then located in the Capitol building) fell, precipitating a crowd of about three hundred and fifty men about twenty-five feet into a “pit of destruction,” killing sixty-two and wounding two hundred and fifty-one more, some of them among the most prominent and useful citizens in the land.

At the time of the *first* of these occurrences, Richmond had a population of only about ten thousand. It was, and had been for a long time, enjoying a season of genuine peace and prosperity, and hence the happening of this startling event amid such surroundings, created a profound impression throughout the whole land, and it has not only found its appropriate place in the history and traditions of the city, but it is often referred to now as one of the most noted events in its life.

At the time of the happening of the *second* of these occurrences, the people of Richmond, then five times as large as in 1811, had just emerged from the calamities of a great disastrous and destructive war; the women, as well as the men, were inured to scenes of death and danger; they had just passed through not only four years of war, but five more years of so-called "Reconstruction;" during which, almost daily, events were occurring, calculated to shock the sensibilities of the people, and to make them ask, what next? These things and the strain and stress of trying "to keep the wolf from the door," followed by commercial and industrial endeavor ever since, have swallowed up and almost obliterated, the memories of the second, or "Capitol Disaster," from the minds of the few now living, who witnessed or who were the victims of that frightful event, and the younger generations are generally ignorant of it, and the causes of it. We should add too, that the good sense displayed in building the Monumental Church on the site of the first disaster, has greatly contributed to memorialize that event, whilst there is not even a tablet, or any other memorial, that we know of, to mark the happening of the second. Will not some one have this done?

As one of the few survivors of the second disaster, we have been asked to place on record, the details of that event, as far as they can now be obtained, and the incidents which preceded and caused that event. We have consented to undertake this task, mainly for the reason, that this calamity was the climax and culmination of "Reconstruction," and a direct result of those illegal and infamous measures; and because the people of this generation have no conception of the trials and tortures through which those of us who lived through those days were called to pass; trials and tortures which justified the "*Klu Klux Klan*," and other like organizations to protect our women, and to preserve the integrity of our civilization and race. It is creditable to the people of the North to say, that they are now as much ashamed of the "Reconstruction" measures, and of the crimes and outrages committed under them as those of any other section of the country.

Any attempt to describe the many occurrences in Richmond in the attempts to enforce those infamous measures, is beyond the scope of this paper. But it is legitimate and proper to show, that certainly so far as Virginia is concerned, there could be no reasonable ground for the enactment of those harsh, illegal and unconstitutional measures, unless, as nearly all of us believed at the time, and as most of us think now, they were designed to further punish, and persecute our already prostrate and suffering people, and to degrade them, if possible, by putting them under the dominion of their former slaves. Either this, or they were enacted to render our people less able to resist the fierce and constant raids of the "carpet baggers," "scallawags" and other cormorants who flocked and feathered here, like the miserable vultures they were, "seeking whom and what they might devour;" and who had generally "left their country for their country's good." We repeat, there could have been no excuse for the enactment, and attempted enforcement of these measures in Virginia. The old Commonwealth had been already rent in twain by the mailed hand of war, and by means and measures which even Mr. Lincoln's Attorney-General had pronounced "an original and independent act of revolution" and as a "plain breach of both the Constitutions of Virginia and the Nation." Francis H. Pierpont, with his so-called Legislature consisting of sixteen members, in both branches, had removed his Capital from Alexandria to Richmond, and had been hauled from Rocketts to the Capitol building, with all his archives of State, in an ambulance. They were then claiming to be the Civil Government of Virginia, and were recognized as such both by the Federal Government and the people of Virginia, and Pierpont was administering the affairs of the State peaceably and quietly, and generally to the satisfaction of our people. There may have been, and doubtless were, conflicts at times between the people and the civil and the military authorities still kept here, but these were infrequent, and nothing like so serious as those afterwards occurring under the "Reconstruction" Acts. Only one illustration will suffice to show the chaotic condition produced by these "Reconstruction" measures. They empowered the military commander of each district (Virginia being District No. 1) to remove every civil officer, who could not take the "iron clad" or test oath (i. e., an oath that he had not supported or sympathized with the South in her struggle for independence), and to replace these officials with those who could take that oath. This the general commanding the district promptly did, and thus removed practically every judge, clerk, sheriff, Commonwealth's attorney, commissioner

of the revenue, constable, justice of the peace, mayor, councilman, etc., in the State, since nearly all of our people were true to the South, and were consequently disqualified for office under the terms of these acts. The military appointees were "carpet baggers" from the North, "scallawags" from the South, negroes or Federal soldiers detailed from their several commands, and, with few exceptions all were equally ignorant, incompetent and corrupt. As ludicrous as it now sounds, (it was too serious a matter to be laughed at then) the judges appointed were as ignorant and bad as the rest, and sometimes even worse. The judge appointed to preside over the circuit court of the city of Richmond, to supplant the learned, able and upright Meredith, did not even know what *p. q.* when put at the end of a bill, declaration, or other pleading meant. The Supreme Court of the State, which had given John Marshall to the Judiciary of the country, was presided over by a Major on General Schofield's Staff, another soldier and a civilian, no one of them ever having been before heard of as a lawyer. Their decisions are reported in XIX Grattan, and in the copy of that volume in the State Law Library on the page where the names of the so-called judges appear, some wag has made a bracket embracing their names, and written, that

"Although they sat upon the eagle's eyrie, they are buzzards still."

During military rule in Virginia, which lasted from April 3rd, 1865 (when Richmond was evacuated by the Confederates), until January 26th, 1870 (when the representatives of the State were permitted to take their seats in Congress, and the State thus readmitted into the Union), there were seven military and two so-called civil Governors, each and all of whom *alien enemies* of the representative white people of the State, and, exclusive of the adventurers and the negroes, not one of them could have commanded the support or respect of a "Corporal's Guard" of the true people of the Commonwealth.

And so we were subjected to the domination and usurpation of these alien rulers for nearly five years, after the war ended, and that too, notwithstanding the fact that Andrew Johnson, the then President of the United States, had, on April 2nd, 1866, issued his proclamation setting forth "that the insurrection which heretofore existed in the States of Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi and Florida is at an end, and is henceforth to be so regarded." We have said before, that it was impossible for the people of this generation to appreciate the difficulties and

disappointments we then had to encounter, and we repeat this statement with emphasis. Especially was this true, at a time when most of us were struggling, and with difficulty, to make a living, and with many other forms of trial and privation too numerous to mention.

But the worst is yet to be told. On September 12th, 1867, General Schofield, then in command of "District No. 1," issued his General Order No. 65, setting forth that

"In pursuance of an Act of Congress of March 23rd, 1867, an election will be had for delegates to a State Convention, and to take the sense of the registered voters upon the question whether such convention shall be held for the purpose of establishing a constitution and civil government for the State of Virginia, *loyal to the Union.*"

This election was held on October 22nd, 1867, and the two following days, running far into the night of each day. We remember going to the one voting place then in Monroe Ward, about nine o'clock at night of the last day, when "carpet baggers," "scallawags" and negroes were still being brought up and voted, and on asking a friend, "from whence they were still bringing these voters," he answered, "from 'Oakwood,' 'Hollywood,' 'Shockoe' and 'Hams' burying grounds;" and, doubtless, the names of many of those then on the registration books (unpurged up to that time) who had long before "shuffled off this mortal coil," were then being voted by the "Managers" on behalf of a convention to represent these "Managers" and their allies in that body, and in so doing, to malign and to misrepresent, our Mother Commonwealth. Poor Old Virginia! wasn't she then draining the cup of sorrow and shame to its dregs? But, alas! the end was not yet, as we shall presently see. With such "Managers" and such methods prevailing throughout the State, and with the active support and sympathy of both the military and *quasi* civil authorities then in power, the result could not long be in doubt, and so the "Black and Tan" (as it was afterwards called) convention was called of the following mongrel and heterogeneous composition. There were one hundred and five members of that body—thirty-five conservatives, sixty-five radicals, and five doubtful. The radicals were composed of twenty-five negroes, fourteen native white Virginians (the "Scallawags"), thirteen New Yorkers, one Pennsylvanian, one member from Ohio, one from Maine, one from Vermont, one from Connecticut, one from South Carolina, one from Maryland, one from the District of Columbia, two from England, one from Ireland, one from Scotland, one from Nova Scotia, and one from Canada. Of the fourteen white Virginians belonging to the

radical majority (the "Scallawags"), some had voted for Secession, some few had been Confederate soldiers, others had had sons in the Confederate Army, and scarcely one of them had been known as a Union man during the war. We involuntarily exclaim with Milton—

"But what will not ambition and revenge
 "Descend to? Who aspires must down as low
 "As high he soared, obnoxious first or last
 "To basest things."

But, thank God, there were but a *very few so-called white men, and no women*, in that despised class in that day, and I hope and believe there are fewer in this. The man who forsakes his own people in ordeals of adversity and trial such as we were then passing through, is a crook, a craven, or a scoundrel, and frequently a combination of all three. A vigorous writer of that day, thus describes the situation. He says:

"It is difficult to realize the situation which we have reached in the South. The mind is stupefied at the initiation of Negro domination. It is a waking nightmare whose horrible shadow cannot be pierced by the struggling faculties, a spell that neither the senses, nor the reason, can dissolve. The only escape from such a fact is, that which the stout and resolute always discover from the storms and floods of unpropitious fortune. Resolved to swim, they breast the tempestuous waves, unterrified and undiscouraged, confident that if but true to themselves, they were not born to be drowned. In such a spirit should the white people of Virginia buffet with the rude surges that break over them in this moment of adversity; in such a spirit should they beat down the heaving bosom of the dark flood in which they struggled; in such a spirit should they wrestle with the swift and swollen current of this revolutionary period, which has submerged all the ancient landmarks, has subverted the foundations of the Federal Government; has swept away the sentiment of constitutional liberty at the North, and is now raging like a howling waste of waters over the lately fair and lovely vistas of the South."

Some of our readers will doubtless say, whilst this writer's rhetoric is very fine, the picture he here draws must be an exaggerated one. We can assure such critics that this is not the case, as we vividly recall those dark and terrible days.

But we must return to the work of the Convention. It sat in the hall of the House of Delegates in the Capitol from December 3rd, 1867, to April 17th, 1868, and on the last-named date (the seventh anniversary of the adoption of the Ordinance of Secession, sitting in the same Hall), it adopted, what is known as the "Underwood" Constitution, so-called because of the fact that John C. Underwood, the Federal District Judge of this District, presided over that body. No more striking contrast could be found, than that presented by the *personnel* of these two conven-

tions: That of 1861 represented all that was highest, noblest and best in the history and traditions of the best days of the Commonwealth; the majority of that of 1867, I have no language to describe, but will only borrow from Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," and say of each:—

"Despite these titles, power and pelf
 "The wretch centered all in self
 "Living shall forfeit fair renown,
 "And doubly dying shall go down
 "To the vile dust from whence he sprung
 "Unwept, unhonored and unsung."

The members of the first were the prototypes of the purity, patriotism and proprieties of the best civilization and traditions of the race; those of the majority of the latter represented the *jetsam* and *flotsam* left on the surface of a troubled sea, stirred to its depths by the strifes and animosities of a cruel and wicked war. As was the contrast in the *personnel* of these two conventions, so was the outcome of the respective labors of the two. That of 1861 adopted measures consonant with the true sentiments, and what was believed at the time to be the highest duty and best interests of the State; that of 1867 adopted a constitution illy suited to the conditions then existing in the State, foreign to its best interests and *disfranchising nine-tenths of the men of real worth and character in the State*. This convention spent one hundred thousand dollars in its worthless and wicked work, and would have spent many thousands more had not General Schofield disbanded it, and the expenses of the last ten days have never yet been paid.

The people of Virginia were, as we have said, singularly loyal and devoted to the Confederate Cause; and so the provision of the "Underwood" Constitution disfranchising all who could not take an oath that they had neither sympathized with, nor supported, that cause, made these, the true people of the State, organize and determine to defeat the adoption of that constitution at the polls. The "Conservative Party," as it was called, was then organized for that purpose, and would doubtless have succeeded but for the fact that at this juncture, Mr. Alexander H. H. Stuart of Staunton, a wise statesman and patriot, seeing that the readmission of the State into the Union was about to be indefinitely postponed, and that negro suffrage was inevitable, determined, with a few others, to try to do something to relieve the situation. He then formed what was afterwards known as the "Committee of Nine," composed of Mr. Stuart, as Chairman, John B. Baldwin, Wyndham Robertson, W. T. Sutherland, James

Neeson, J. F. Johnson, Wm. L. Owen, John L. Marye, Jr., and John F. Slaughter, and this committee prevailed on Congress, after great efforts, to authorize the submission of the constitution to be voted on either as a whole, or that the provisions requiring the "test oath," and the disfranchising clause, should be voted on separately. It was commonly said at the time that the "Committee of Nine" had done "a great deal of good;" but, reflecting over those times, we do not believe the work of that committee has ever received the meed of praise it really deserved. The truth is, many of our best people had become disgusted at the many acts of perfidy, bad faith and oppression practiced by the Federal Government and its leading representatives at the time, and they were, therefore, suspicious lest the work of that committee might be considered as "truckling" to those who had oppressed and fooled them so long and so often. We confess that we felt this way ourselves; but when we saw later that we were mistaken, we cheerfully joined and worked for the "Conservative Party," and have supported it, and its successor, the Democratic Party, from that day to this.

On the 10th of April, 1869, Congress passed an Act, empowering President Grant to submit to a vote of the people the constitution, either as a whole, or by sections, separately, as he might deem proper. Grant, be it said to his credit, issued his proclamation on May 14th, 1869, fixing July 6th, 1869, as the date for submitting the "Underwood" Constitution to the vote of the people, and he submitted the fourth clause of Section 1 of Article III and the seventh Section of the same Article, to be voted on separately from the Constitution. Accordingly this election was held under the supervision of General E. R. S. Canby, commanding District No. 1. The total registered vote in Virginia at that time was 269,884, of which 149,781 were white, and 120,103 colored. The total number of votes cast for and against the Constitution and the independent clauses, was 222,319, of which 125,114 were white, and 97,205 were colored. The Constitution was ratified by a vote of 210,585 to 9,135. The fourth clause of Section 1 of Article III, or the disfranchising clause, was rejected by a vote of 124,360 to 84,410, and Section 7 of Article III, the test oath clause, was rejected by a vote of 124,715 to 83,458. At this election Gilbert C. Walker, a conservative, a native of New York, but then residing in Norfolk, was elected over Henry H. Wells, a radical, from Michigan, then acting Governor, under military appointment, by a vote of 119,535 to 101,204, or a majority of 18,381.

On January 26th, 1870, another Act of Congress was approved readmitting Virginia into the Union, and on the same date, it was contemplated by the act, that the military should be withdrawn, and all of their appointees to office annulled and the offices vacated as soon as their several successors were elected and qualified. Notwithstanding the fact that Canby's powers as military commander ceased with the readmission of the State on the 26th of January, 1870, as we have seen, yet on the next day, the 27th of January, he fired his Parthian arrow at the Old Commonwealth by an order directing all the military appointees to office to hold on until their successors *chosen under the New Constitution were elected and qualified*. This order, if effective, would prolong the terms of all these appointees until July 1st, 1870, when the terms of all officers elected under the New Constitution were seemingly intended to take effect.

It may be, that we owe our readers an apology for the foregoing long recital, but it contains matters of history which ought to be known, which we have gathered from apparently authentic sources, and which facts as will be seen, presently, have a direct bearing on the "RICHMOND MAYORALTY CASE," and the "CAPITOL DISASTER," which was the result and sequel of that case.

THE RICHMOND MAYORALTY CASE.

As just stated, Gilbert C. Walker, a native of New York, then residing in Norfolk, was elected Governor at the election held on July 6th, 1869, to commence to discharge the duties of the office as soon as the State was readmitted into the Union, by the seating of her representatives in Congress, and this was, as before stated, on January 26th, 1870.

We can never forget the grand procession, and other demonstrations of joy in Richmond celebrating both the election and inauguration of Governor Walker. He was a fine looking man, not devoid of moral and physical courage, possessed of fair intellectual ability, and had many attractive and admirable traits of character. He was very popular, and after his term as Governor had expired, was elected to Congress from this district over Col. John H. Guy, one of the best men, and one of the ablest lawyers in the State. Walker's good looks were his *undoing*, and, so when in Congress, he became demoralized, and was defeated in the next election by General Joseph E. Johnston; he then left Virginia, and went back to his home, at Binghamton, New York, where he has since died. He made, on the whole,

a very good Governor, and his election was certainly the best we could have done at the time.

As before stated, Walker went into office on January 26th, 1870; he called the Legislature, elected at the same time that he was, to meet on February 8th, 1870, and on March 5th, an "enabling act" was passed, which recognized as legal such of the existing civil officers of the State *as were eligible under the Constitution*, and provided especially "for the more efficient government of cities and towns;" that the Governor should appoint councilmen or trustees to take the places of those then in office. This act also authorized these new councilmen or trustees (with certain exceptions) to fill all municipal offices, such officers to supplant and supersede those then filling those offices, respectively.

On Tuesday, March 15th, the Governor appointed councilmen for the city of Richmond, retaining two of those appointed by the military, viz.: Colonel Albert Ordway, who came to Richmond in command of a Massachusetts regiment at the time of the evacuation. Ordway married a lady then living here, Miss Missouri Godwyn, a strong Confederate, and he became one of our best and most useful citizens. The other was William C. Dunham, also from some Northern State—Massachusetts, we believe. He also married a Richmond lady, Miss Lina Ayres, a thorough Confederate, and he also became a most useful and exemplary citizen. He held at his death—caused by the Capitol Diaster—the agency of the Old Dominion Steamship Company.

This council, at the request of Governor Walker, met and organized the next day by electing Mr. James A. Scott, as President. It then elected Mr. Henry K. Ellyson Mayor of the city, who at once qualified, and sent to the council the names of Major John Poe, Jr., for chief of police, and the following six captains, viz.: James M. Tyler, Reuben T. Seal, George Fowlkes, James B. Pleasants, Charles T. Ganther and John Disney, all of whom were at once elected, although, as will be seen later, Ganther adhered to the cause of George Chahoon, the military appointee, already in office, who had as his chief of police Major Egbert, of the Federal Army, together with a fully organized and equipped police force. Chahoon determined at once to contest Ellyson's title to the office of Mayor, claiming that that feature of the "enabling act," which authorized his election, was unconstitutional and void, and that by virtue of his appointment and by the terms of the order of General Canby of January 27th, 1870, before referred to, he had the right to continue in office *until his successor, elected by the people under the New Constitution, was*

duly elected and qualified, which could not occur until July 1st, 1870.

Since the character and conduct of both Mr. Ellyson and Mr. Chahoon in one of the gravest crises, in the history of this city are about to be considered, it seems to us, that this is the appropriate place to speak of each of them as a man, a citizen and an officer. We know Mr. Ellyson well, from the time we came to Richmond to live in 1860, until his death in 1890, and we fully endorse what is said of him by a writer, who wrote that—

“No man who ever lived in Virginia excelled Mr. Ellyson in high moral standing, or business integrity, and certainly he was not excelled by any in untiring usefulness.”

When we first knew him, he was a sheriff of the city. Under the law, as it was at that time, it was the duty of the sheriff to collect, and account for, the whole revenues of the State, in addition to performing the duties of attending on the courts, and serving process, as is now required of that officer. All of these duties were performed by Mr. Ellyson with a courtesy, a promptness and efficiency that could not have been excelled. As in this office, so in all others he was called to fill, he discharged the duties so faithfully, so efficiently and so satisfactorily, that it was a real pleasure and comfort to have business with him. But Mr. Ellyson was far more than the courteous and efficient official. He was a useful, enterprising and exemplary citizen; he was a Christian gentleman, and as active and faithful in the affairs of his church, as in those of the State, and thoroughly up to the mark in both. He was too, a man of superb moral and physical courage, never rash, never impetuous; safe in counsel, and singularly clear-headed, able and considerate.

Of Mr. George Chahoon, we knew but little, except that he was an adventurer from the North, who came here as a “Camp follower” with the Federal Army. He was a United States Commissioner appointed by Judge Underwood, and therefore ineligible to office under the laws of Virginia. He accepted and held, and tried to continue to hold on, to the mayoralty of Richmond, after his successor had been duly elected and qualified, after he knew, that nine-tenths of the people of intelligence and worth, wanted to get rid of him. Not only is this true, but he seemed ready and willing to embroil the city in strife and even bloodshed, just to keep himself in that office a few months longer; and last, but by no means least, the next we hear of him, he was convicted of a felony for “uttering and attempting to employ as true,” a forged bond of a dead man’s estate for \$7,000.00, knowing the same to be a forgery, “with intent to defraud,” and

was sentenced to serve a term in the penitentiary. Indeed, he was convicted of this offence by two juries, with quite an interval between the trials. On a writ of error to the judgment rendered on the first trial, the Court of Appeals of Virginia granted him a new trial, on the merest technicality. On the second trial, he was again convicted in the lower court, and although the Court of Appeals again granted him a writ of error, and his case was argued by the ablest criminal lawyer then at this bar, the late Judge W. W. Crump, the court affirmed the judgment of the lower court; and he would have gone to the penitentiary and served his term, but for the intervention of Governor Walker, who thought it a stroke of good policy to pardon him, with the understanding that he would leave the State, and not return. So *exit* Chahoon. (See his cases reported in 20 and 21 Grattan.)

These two then, Ellyson and Chahoon, were the real parties and antagonists in the "*Richmond Mayoralty Case*," which case caused the "*Capitol Disaster*," as we shall presently see:

Having now described, the *cause of the conflict*, the *casus belli*, and the parties, we come now to speak briefly of the eminent counsel on both sides. Those for Ellyson were Judge John A. Meredith, Hon. Raleigh T. Daniel and Hon. James Neeson.

Those for Chahoon were Hon. Henry A. Wise, Hon. Henry H. Wells and Hon. L. H. Chandler.

And now a word about each of these in the order named: *Judge Meredith* filled a large place in the hearts and in the affairs of the people of Richmond. He represented it in the Convention of 1850-51. He was elected Judge of the Circuit Court of the city, on the formation of that court, and by reason of the State's business transacted therein, the most important circuit court in the State. He was one of the commissioners sent by the authorities to surrender the city to the enemy when it had to be evacuated by the Confederates on April 3rd, 1865. (Hon. Joseph Mayo, the Mayor, and Hon. Wm. Henry Lyons, Judge of the Hustings Court, being the other two). We saw the commissioners as they returned with General Godfrey Wertzel, the Federal Commander, after they had performed their painful office, and we can never forget that sight. Just here, let us record a very novel and rather ludicrous occurrence which, we are informed, Judge Meredith used to relate, as having taken place in the performance of the duties of the commissioners in surrendering the city. The three commissioners rode out in a carriage, down the "Osborne" Turnpike, expecting to meet the enemy at, or near, Fort Harrison. When they reached the vicinity of the Fort, they were startled by hearing the whiz of some stray bullets.

Neither one of these gentlemen had been soldiers, and were not pugnaciously inclined that morning; they, then for the first time, thought about hoisting a "*flag of truce.*" On searching for this very important article, they found that it had been entirely forgotten. The question then was, how to improvise a flag of truce for the emergency. The white handkerchief for the use of gentlemen was not yet in vogue; the "red bandanna" then used was calculated to infuriate rather than to appease; so there seemed but one solution of the vexed question, and that was, to cut off their *shirt tails, pin them together, and tie them to a staff, and this is what they did.* And so it came to pass, that this city, the Capital of the "storm cradled" Confederacy, which for four years had baffled all the assaults of the enemy, and for the coming five years was to endure the malignity and misrule of the *shifting* and *shiftless* governments of seven military and two so-called civil Governors, was surrendered under a *shirt-tail flag of truce.* We feel like exclaiming with the great Bard:—

"But yesterday the word of Caesar might
"Have stood against the world, now lies he there,
"And none so poor to do him reverence."

Judge Meredith was for many years President of the Board of Aldermen, and in every way a useful and exemplary citizen. He was also recognized as a lawyer of decided learning and ability.

Hon. Raleigh T. Daniel was perhaps the greatest genius of the Richmond Bar. He was for many years the city attorney; had just served a term as Attorney-General of the State, and had been renominated by his party for a second term at the time of his death. He was a charming companion, a most accomplished gentleman, and a lawyer of signal learning and ability.

Hon. James Neeson was from Western Virginia. He had removed to Richmond at the outbreak of the war, because of his lack of sympathy with the majority of the people in the territory afterwards embraced in the State of West Virginia. He was a member of the convention of 1850-51 from the district composed of the counties of Marion, Preston, Monongalia and Taylor. He was a very able and astute lawyer, and a man of imperturbable disposition.

Hon. Henry A. Wise was, by all odds, the most distinguished man, but not the most noted lawyer, engaged in the case. He had been Governor of the State, a member of Congress, Minister to Brazil, a prominent prospective candidate for the presidency, a member of the convention of 1861, and a gallant and distinguished Brigadier-General in the Confederate Army. He was a con-

summate orator, a fiery and impetuous advocate, but was not noted for being a safe counsellor, or a very learned or profound lawyer. He was the most delightful conversationalist that we ever had the privilege of listening to, and one of the most noted stump speakers in the whole country.

Hon. Henry H. Wells was the "Reconstruction" Military appointee to the office of Governor of the State, to succeed Governor Pierpont. His reputation was that of being a smart fellow, but if he had any reputation as a lawyer, we never heard of it. He was a "Carpet-bagger," and was frequently referred to as *Henry Harpy*, but whether on account of his rapacious disposition, or the general duplicity of his make-up, we never knew, and never felt interest enough in him to enquire.

Hon. L. H. Chandler was from Norfolk. He was the United States District Attorney for this district; was a smart fellow, and a good lawyer. We remember hearing Judge Crump refer to him as the "intellectual supplejack," so ready and so quick was he to "catch on" at every turn his case might take. A distinguished gentleman of the city used to tell of his occasional visits to General Schofield. He said the General would say one day something like this:

"Well Bowden (Attorney-General under Pierpont) was here yesterday, and he says Chandler is the greatest scoundrel on earth."

Another day, the General would say:

"Well Chandler was here yesterday, and he says Bowden is the biggest scoundrel on earth."

Choice (?) epithets of this kind were not only current when the so-called *gentry* of that type and day were speaking of each other to third parties, but they were frequently indulged in "face to face," and no notice taken of the seemingly intended insult. Well, they knew each other better than we did, and, therefore, we never felt inclined to take issue with any of them, on any of the charges of rascality they saw fit to prefer against each other. And then too, from our knowledge of the "gang," we felt satisfied there was among them a sufficient quantity of the *virus* to "go round" and to "leaven the whole lump."

Having completed our description of the parties, and their several counsel, we now propose to state some of the main features of the manner in which the conflict was conducted by them.

As soon as Chahoon heard of the election and qualification of Ellyson, he sent word to his police force at the three stations, to hold them against all comers, and to recognize no orders except

from him, or his Chief Egbert. By six o'clock on Thursday morning, March 17th, Major Poe, Ellyson's Chief, went to the Old Market Station, and demanded the transfer of the place to him as the lawful Chief of Police of the city. But Chahoon's officers on duty refused to recognize Poe's authority, and, of course, refused to surrender the station. Poe went to Egbert's residence, and made a similar demand of him, but with the same result. An hour later, Ellyson and Poe had opened an executive office at 1441 East Main Street, and had there gathered all of Ellyson's officers (except Ganther) with fifty-three men of the old police force, ready for duty, Charles H. Epes having been appointed captain in the place of Ganther. At eight o'clock A. M., the following letter was sent by Ellyson to Chahoon:—

"OFFICE OF MAYOR,
"RICHMOND, *March 17th, 1870.*

"GEORGE CHAHOON, Esq.,

Dear Sir:

By virtue of an election by the Council of the City of Richmond, held on yesterday, and after due qualification according to law, I have assumed, and entered on the discharge of the duties of Mayor of the City of Richmond, and request that you will, as late Mayor of the City, transfer to me, as its present Mayor, all property, books and records in your possession belonging to said City.

I shall be pleased to have an interview with you, at my office, with the object of effecting the transfer aforesaid.

Respectfully your ob't servant,

H. K. ELLYSON, *Mayor.*"

To this letter Chahoon replied later in the day, as follows:—

"RICHMOND, *March 17th, 1870.*

"HENRY K. ELLYSON,

Sir:

In reply to yours of this date (the 17th), I have to say, as Mayor of the City, that I do not recognize your alleged election by the Council of the City of Richmond as valid according to the Constitution of the State of Virginia; and I cannot recognize the authority of the Council under which you claim an election, nor do I recognize the police force assumed to be elected or appointed by them.

Being already lawfully invested with the office of Mayor, and now acting under its authority, I shall exercise its powers to prevent and resist any usurpation of its functions by you or any one else, not duly elected and qualified according to law.

I trust that the peace of the City will not be broken; and if you deem it your duty to contest my office for the time being, until an election can be held according to the Constitution and laws of the State, by the people of the City, that you will resort to the judicial tribunals. Every opportunity is afforded you to compel me to show cause why a writ of *quo warranto* should not be issued. This is a peaceful remedy, and I will cheerfully submit to any decision by the Courts against my right to hold the office of Mayor.

I deem it my duty to inform you, that any attempt to exercise the office you claim, or to exercise any other office, by any other person under the police of this City by force, will be lawfully resisted by me.

I have the honor to be, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

GEO. CHAHOON,
Mayor of Richmond."

These letters clearly disclose, the issue as made, in what was known at the time as the "Municipal War," and since the leaders on both sides were thought to be men of approved courage, the situation presented was indeed a grave one. It was feared too, as afterwards proved true, that General Canby, with his troops, still here, would take sides with Chahoon and his followers, and, since Governor Walker had no organized Militia, Ellyson's cause did not look encouraging. The late Major Robert Stiles, in his account of the situation and of the occurrences then taking place, written at the time of Mr. Ellyson's death, and on which we have freely drawn, says:—

"It was a grave crisis. Timid men whose spirit had been crushed by the prolonged despotism of reconstruction, and overawed by the military power of the United States, apprehensive of bloodshed, and of a return to the irresponsible tyranny of the soldier, whispered that the legal validity of the 'enabling act' was at least questionable, and its bad policy certainly unquestionable, and counseled abandonment of the claims of our officers holding under it. Rash men inflamed by the audacity of Chahoon's position and pretences, urged an immediate attack on him as a violent trespasser on the property of the City." But, as Major Stiles then added,—
"Our Mayor was neither rash nor timid."

He recognized the gravity of the situation, and the importance of the trust committed to his hands by the representatives of the real people and true interests of the City, and, whilst he informed the public that he would do all in his power to avoid bloodshed, and would not attempt to resist the power of the military authorities of the United States; yet he was determined to do his duty, as far as possible, to preserve the integrity of his office, and the right of the people of the City to have their affairs administered by one of their own people chosen by their own representatives. If necessary to accomplish this, he said he was willing to "go to jail and remain there as long as might be necessary to vindicate the rights of the people of Richmond."

On the receipt of Chahoon's letter, Ellyson sent a captain and twenty-five policemen and took possession of the City Hall. He now had sworn in three hundred and seventy-five special policemen. He had the fire department, the officers and men of which were loyal to a man, and in addition to these, the young

men of the city organized a battalion of which Major Stiles was chosen as the commander, the services of which were placed at the orders of Mr. Ellyson. Nor was Chahoon idle during these precious and momentous hours. He had established his headquarters in the Old Market Station, sworn in a large number of special policemen, mostly negroes, and put them under the immediate command of a negro, "Col." Ben. Scott, one of the worst and most desperate of his race, anywhere to be found.

The station was barred and barricaded against attack, but Chahoon had neglected to provision it, and it was, therefore, impossible that it could sustain a prolonged siege. Ellyson was, of course, supported by the intelligence and worth of the city, and a few of the most active of these are now living. He held the City Hall, where the council met; the council controlled the purse strings of the city, the "sinews of war," and it was thoroughly loyal to him and his cause. This was also true of Governor Walker, who, although a Northern man, and lately an officer in the Federal Army, behaved admirably in this emergency, as his subsequent correspondence with General Canby would attest, if we had the space to insert it here; but we cannot.

Chahoon held the three police stations, viz.: Old Market, Second Market and Brook Avenue, and while his police force made an occasional arrest, Ellyson and his force were practically in control of the city. Both held their courts, however, Ellyson in the City Hall and Chahoon in the Old Market Hall, and both tried, convicted and imprisoned offenders against the laws of the city and State.

But to return to the 17th of March. Chahoon had promised Ellyson to reply to his letter of that date demanding a surrender of the property of the city by twelve o'clock (noon) of that day. This he had, however, failed to do. After waiting until one o'clock, Ellyson despatched a body of seventy-five special policemen, under the command of Major Poe to capture the Old Market Station and Hall. The besiegers needed a fire; so they built one of green wood at the foot of the stairway leading up to the hall, where the besieged were drilling, and where Chahoon was with Governor Wise as his leading counsel. The weather was too cold to hoist the windows, so the smoke from below soon commenced to do its work; the besieged were then cut off from fuel, gas, water and all communication with the other police stations, and no communication was allowed with the outside save from United States officers who wished to confer with Chahoon, he being also a United States Commissioner of Underwood's Court. Deputy Sergeant Ben August, the present faithful and excellent city

clerk, was also permitted to visit the besieged for the purpose of serving process on a witness, and he talks interestingly of the then activities of the besieged. Later in the day, a man named Stovall appeared and demanded admission, claiming to be a United States Commissioner, and desiring to see Chahoon on business; the officer in charge of the besiegers believing him to be an impostor, refused to let him in. He soon returned with a warrant for the arrest of Major Poe on the charge of interfering with a United States official in the discharge of his duties. Soon Ellyson and his police captains were also arrested on the same charge, but were at once bailed, and no witnesses appearing against them, these prosecutions were continued at the time and never resumed. Towards night, the crowd of negroes increased, began throwing bricks and other missiles at the besiegers, who returned this by firing their pistols in the crowd, wounding Sergeant O'C. Dwyer of Ellyson's police, a white man named Saddler, and several negroes, but none of them seriously. This quieted things for the night. The next morning, the crowd reappeared, and were more aggressive than they had been the night before. The order to clear the streets was then given and was being obeyed when a negro named Daniel Henderson refused to move, and grappled with a policeman. Instantly firing opened on both sides, and Henderson was mortally wounded. He was sent to a hospital and nursed carefully, but died the day after, the only fatality in the famous Old Market Siege.

Mayor Ellyson had a conference with General Canby that evening at Canby's request. He assured the latter that he could suppress any further outbreak, and he understood Canby to say he had no intention or desire to interfere, and, if he did, he would only do so on behalf of the constituted authorities of the city, and Ellyson then understood Canby to recognize him, and those acting with him, as such authorities. Later on, Canby denied this, but Ellyson had written out the substance of the interview in a letter to Governor Walker, immediately on leaving Canby, and he satisfied Walker that his report of the interview was correct, and that Canby's was wrong. When we recall the fact that Canby was killed by the Modoc Chief, "Capt. Jack," for the basest treachery, we are not surprised at any act of treachery or duplicity emanating from him. He was so thoroughly hated by the people of Richmond, that when the news of his death, at the hands of "Capt. Jack" was reported here, one of our best known ladies remarked that "she would like to have the privilege of pensioning and supporting Capt. Jack during the rest of his life." Indeed, none of the seven commanders of "District No.

I" were popular, or seemed to try to make themselves so with our best people, as the following verses from the pen of Dr. Charles H. Winston, one of the then professors of Richmond College, now living, will clearly indicate. It was a "mixture" that touched the popular heart here to the core at that time:—

"CARMEN AND TERRY."

"Terry leave us, sumus weary;

"Jam nos taedet te videre,

"Si vis nos with joy implere,

"Terry, in hac terra tarry

"Diem *nary*.

* * * *

"Forte Thaddeus may desire thee,

"Sunner, et id om., admire thee

"Nuisance nobis (not to ire thee)

"We can spare thee, magne Terry,

"Freely—very.

* * * *

"Bid thy dulces Afres vale—

"Pompey, Scipio et Sally—

"Seek some back New Haven alley,

"Terry, quit this territory.

"Con amore.

* * * *

"Sed verba tibi *abituro*

"Pay thy rent bills; et, conjuro,

"Tecum take thy precious Bureau;

"Terry, Turner, Blue coat *homnes*,

"Abhinc omnes!"

It may be well to record here the names and dates of service of these military commanders, so as to rescue their names, to that extent at least, from the oblivion they so richly deserve. They are as follows, viz.:

Godfrey Wertzel, from April 3rd to April 13th, 1865; E. O. C. Ord, from April 13th to June 14th, 1865; Alfred H. Terry, from June 14th, 1865, to August 16th, 1866; John M. Schofield, from August 16th, 1866, to June 2nd, 1868; George Stoneman, from June 2nd, 1869, to April 20th, 1869, and E. R. S. Canby, from April 20th, 1869, to January 26th, 1870.

But to return to our story: On Friday morning, March the 18th, Canby sent for Chahoon to come to his headquarters; he was accompanied by his counsel, Governor Wise. The result of this interview was, that Canby informed both Ellyson and Chahoon, that at two o'clock that day, his troops would take possession of the Old Market Station; that Ellyson's forces should raise their siege; that Chahoon's police force should be

dismissed, but that Chahoon was to remain in charge of the Old Market as his official headquarters. To this arrangement, enforced, as it was to be by United States troops, of course, Ellyson had no alternative but to submit; but he did so under protest, as did also Governor Walker. These letters of protest, the one from Mayor Ellyson to Governor Walker, and that of Governor Walker to General Canby, have the "ring of the true metal," but we can only record that of Governor Walker here, because of the great length to which this paper is destined to grow. It is, as follows:

"COMMONWEALTH OF VIRGINIA,
"EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT,
"RICHMOND, March 19th, 1870.

MAJOR-GENERAL CANBY, *Commanding, etc.:*

Sir:

"From the morning press, and from other sources, I learn, that a military force under your command, has been interposed to prevent the Mayor of this City, elected, qualified and acting under the laws of this State, from the proper discharge of his duties, and with the seeming intention of enabling another person, a mere pretender to that office, to discharge the current business of the office. As there has been no request by the Legislature, or any of the Civil authorities of the State, for the military aid, I cannot understand, how or why, the military forces of the United States should be employed in such a case, or why the military officers of the United States should discriminate against a recognized Civil officer, in favor of one not recognized as an officer by the laws or the constituted authorities of the State. As Governor of the Commonwealth, I ask by what law or authority you have taken such action?

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

G. C. WALKER,
Governor of the State of Virginia."

In the correspondence which followed between Canby and Walker, the former tried to justify his conduct by other "Reconstruction" precedents, and claimed that he acted because of the *necessity* then existing for the preservation of the peace and good order in the city. It was believed at the time, that Canby was induced to act as he did, by the advice and influence of Governor Wise, but whether, or not, this is true, we never knew. Certainly, the old Governor was thoroughly enlisted in the cause of his client, Chahoon, and some thought he went further than the duties of counsel to client demanded, in his efforts to succeed. An evidence of his great zeal in this direction will be given later on in this paper.

There were other conflicts, between the followers of Ellyson and those of Chahoon (nearly all of the latter being negroes, who

were greatly elated at the interference by General Canby). In one of these conflicts the police station at the second market was actually stormed and captured; in another one of Ellyson's men, W. F. Knox, was wounded, another Ellyson man, Richard F. Bush, was killed, and the negro, Ben Scott, wounded. This killing of Bush greatly excited and infuriated the Ellyson people, and it correspondingly excited and elated the negroes. But it would be both tedious and useless to relate the details of these occurrences, and, for that reason only, we shall pass them by.

We must not, however, fail to make some reference to the proceedings instituted in the courts.

Of course, Chahoon and his counsel sought relief in the Federal Court, then presided over by Judge John C. Underwood, of whom we will have something to say later on. Chahoon applied for an injunction to enjoin Ellyson, his police force and the council which elected them, from taking possession of the city property, and from discharging the duties of their respective offices, and, of course, this injunction was awarded. The opinion was delivered on the 31st of March, and concluded in the following characteristic language:—

"It is therefore ordered, that the defendant, Ellyson, shall no longer assume to perform the duties of Mayor of this City, under color of a void and unconstitutional act. The defendant, Eaker, and his associates of the fictitious Council, shall no longer play their game of pretended authority, and that defendant Poe and his confederates shall no longer impose upon this community as lawful police. In the interest of peace and of public order, the injunction as prayed for in the complainant's bill is awarded. In the name and words of the President of the United States, 'Let us have peace!'"

When the decision was rendered, counsel for Ellyson and his co-defendants asked leave to appeal from it, but the court refused this, on the ground that the decree was not final, but only interlocutory. This counsel then (disclaiming, or rather concealing, any intentional disrespect for the court), asked that their clients might be deemed guilty of only *formal* disobedience of the injunction, and on being arrested for contempt, might then bring the case before the Supreme Court of the United States on writ of *habeas corpus*. Underwood was about to accede to this, when Governor Wise sprang to his feet, shaking his long hair, which generally came to his shoulders, with clenched fist, quivering frame and piercing eye, indulged in a torrent of abuse, invective, denunciation and protest, that could scarcely have escaped the lips of any other living man. He declared that the effrontery and insolence of the defendants' proposition was without parallel

in the annals of judicial procedure. "Arrested," he cried; "yes, your honor, let him be arrested, but let it be no *mollitur manus imposuit*. Let him be seized by the roughest hand, and incarcerated in the deepest dungeon the law can command, and let him be loaded with biting chains. Sir, if the era of insolent lawlessness, of the musket and the bludgeon has come, let us know it; here and now, let the proclamation of war be openly made, right here in the temples of outraged and defied justice."

When this tirade had ended, the silent awe of the courtroom was painful in the extreme; the negroes shuffled about, and literally gnashed their teeth. Everyone present seemed to be anticipating an outbreak the next instant; the judge was judge no longer; the torrent which came from the lips of the "old man eloquent" had literally swept him from his moorings. He had abdicated; he was terror-stricken, and he adjourned the court and incontinently fled the city. The next day when Chahoon's counsel wished to apply for further process to enforce their injunction, the court could not be found, and so Ellyson and his friends were not arrested, the injunction directed by Underwood was never enforced, and Mayor Ellyson went on holding his court every morning, thereby courting arrest. A "writ of assistance" was subsequently issued by Underwood, a copy served on Ellyson, and the property of the city demanded to be surrendered by him; but this he refused to do. It was again demanded by the marshal, with a small *posse*, but again declined. A third time this farce was tried with the same result. Ellyson having redoubled his forces, remained at the city hall all that Saturday night and all day Sunday, so anxious and so determined was he, to "leave no stone unturned" for protecting the rights of his people, committed to his hands.

The contempt proceedings for violating Underwood's injunction were never pressed. Subsequently the whole case was laid before Chief Justice Chase in Washington, and at his suggestion, and by agreement of counsel, continued until the May term of the court. It is proper to add that Ellyson's counsel applied to Judge Wellford of the Circuit Court of Richmond, for a writ of *mandamus*, which was awarded against Chahoon, but this was likewise disobeyed, and no steps were taken to enforce it. This illustrates the practical condition of anarchy then existing in this city.

When Chahoon saw the order his counsel had agreed to have entered by the chief justice, he saw that he was "out-generaled" and *whipped*. He had no money to pay his police force, they were deserting his standard, and the unpaid-for devotion of his adher-

ents, generally, was "playing out." On the 11th of April, he wrote Ellyson a very courteous letter, suggesting that both of them retire from the mayoralty, and "leave the Recorder or Senior Alderman to act as though there was a vacancy in the office of mayor. This disposition of the office of mayor, not in any way to affect our cases before the courts, nor to be binding after a judicial settlement is effected." This proposition, Ellyson promptly declined, but submitted as a counter proposition the following:

"Participating in your desire for a speedy settlement of the matters in controversy, I propose the following: That we bring before a full bench of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia (which meets to-morrow) by writs of *Habeas Corpus* sued out by a person you have confined in jail, and by a person I have confined in jail, testing the questions of the constitutionality of the law of the State known as the 'enabling act'. Let us both waive all technical questions, and ask the judgment of the Court on the main issue. If the Court decides the law to be unconstitutional, I will at once withdraw all claims to the office of Mayor and cease to perform its duties. If the Court declares the law to be constitutional, you are to dismiss all proceedings in the Circuit Court of the United States, and give up all claims to the office."

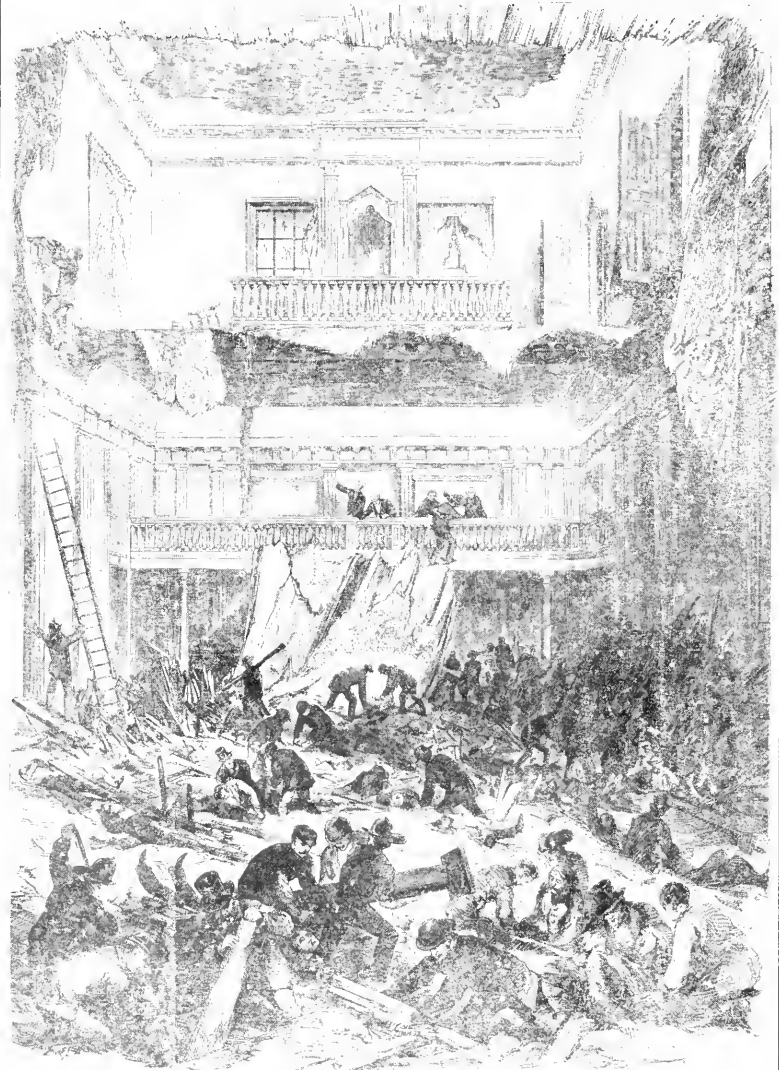
This proposition was agreed to by Chahoon and his counsel, and so what is known as "The Richmond Mayoralty Case," reported in 19th Grattan at page 673, was made up, ably argued by the counsel hereinbefore named, and submitted to the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia for decision.

We would fail to do justice to the history of this feature of this controversy if we omitted to record a passing notice of Judge John C. Underwood, and the ignoble and contemptible part played by him in this memorable contest. In the first place, he was so ignorant of the law, that, in a case in which the five judges of the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia afterwards held the "enabling act" to be *constitutional*, he was so clear it was *unconstitutional*, that he would not even allow the counsel for Chahoon to argue that question before him. In the second place, after he had rendered his partizan decision in favor of Chahoon, he fled the city, was too cowardly to remain here to try to enforce that decision; and his conduct in this case was in keeping with his whole judicial career, as we vividly remember it. (See the portrayal of his conduct as drawn by Mr. Justice Swayne in *McVeigh v. Underwood*, 11 Wallace 267, and repeated by Judge Christian in 23 Grattan, 413.) Chief Justice Marshall said in the Virginia convention of 1829-30, that "the greatest scourge an angry heaven ever inflicted upon an ungrateful and sinning people was an ignorant, a corrupt or a dependent judiciary." Surely, the great Chief Justice could never have found a more fitting illustration

of this "scourge" than was exhibited in the person, the conduct and the character of Jonh C. Underwood. And we say, without fear of successful contradiction, that if Abraham Lincoln, as President of the United States, had done nothing else to discredit him as a man, and to establish his utter unfitness for that high office, the nomination of such a creature as Underwood for a judicial station, and the approval of the act creating the State of West Virginia, in the face of the opinion of his own law officer that the act was a "breach of both the Constitution of the State of Virginia and of the Nation" (the last-named of which he had sworn to support), ought to be conclusive of these facts. We cannot forbear to add too, whilst we know it is fashionable for many honest and true people, both at the North and South, to believe that if Mr. Lincoln had lived, the people of the South would have been spared the outrages, the trials and tortures of "reconstruction," *that we do not believe it*; and we say, after a careful and thorough study of the character and conduct of this enigmatical man — *there is no sound basis for any such belief or assertion*. Col. McClure, one of the closest friends and most ardent admirers of Mr. Lincoln, says, in "Lincoln and Men of War Times," page 227:

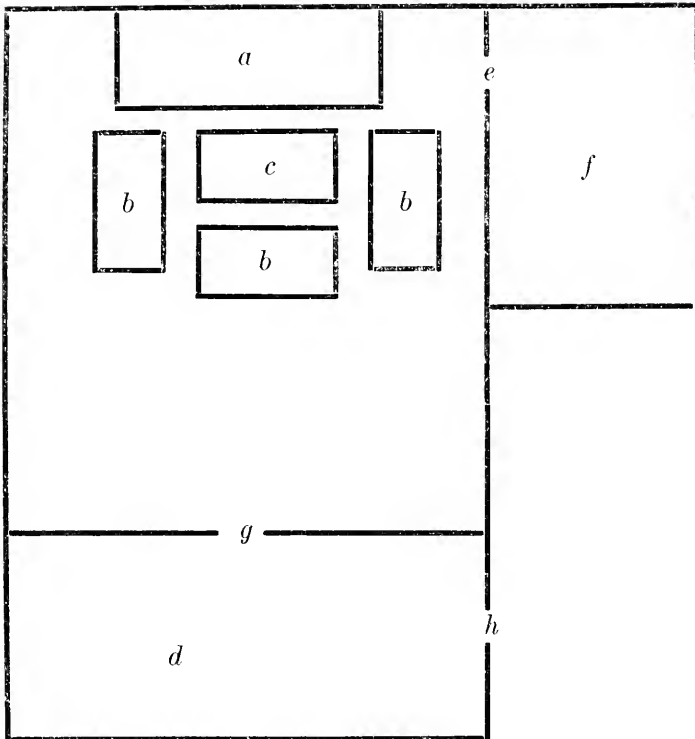
"What policy of reconstruction Lincoln would have adopted, had he lived to complete his great work, cannot be known."

And this is the truth, and the whole truth.



WORKING THE FOUNDATIONS OF THE CITY OF AND WORKING THE WALLS OF THE CITY, AND THE DEAD FOR THE CITY OF LONDON. (From the "Illustrated London News" of May 11, 1871.)

DIAGRAM OF COURT-ROOM.



A. Judges' stand.

B. Counsel's tables.

C. Clerk's table, given up to the reporters on this occasion.

D. Clerk's office, over which was the gallery—the line representing the partition between the Clerk's office and the Courtroom is just where the girder was that first gave way.

E. Door from courtroom to conference room.

F. Judges' conference room.

G. Door from Clerk's office to courtroom.

H. Entrance to gallery and Clerk's office.

The courtroom is just over the hall of the House of Delegates.

THE CAPITOL DISASTER.

We come now to attempt to perform, what is to us, the saddest part of our task, and what is also, the most difficult for us perform, with any degree of satisfaction to ourselves, or to our readers. One reason for this difficulty arises from the fact, that although we fell in the "disaster," our life having been saved by the bodies of our two friends, Mr. N. P. Howard and Dr. J. B. Brock, who were killed, on us, and thus protected our body from the beam that killed them, yet when we reached the bottom of the "death trap," we were literally "buried alive," and remained so, until we could be reached by the rescuers and taken out of the ruins. (We fell between Hon. James N. Stubbs, of Gloucester, and Thomas R. Joynes, son of Judge Joynes.) We were not rendered insensible by the fall, and heard the groans, the cries, the agonies, the prayers and supplications, which went up from that pit such as we never heard before, and hope never to hear again. We heard the exclamation: "Oh grave, where is thy victory? Oh death, where is thy sting?" but we have no idea from whence it proceeded. Having been thus *buried alive*, being nearly suffocated when taken out, and having been removed to our home, as soon as a carriage could be procured for that purpose, we, of course, saw but little of the actual work of rescuing the dead and wounded, and of the disposition made of these after they were removed from the ruins. We remember being carried and laid on the floor of the south porch of the capitol; that Governor Wise was the first to approach us there; that because of the swollen, bruised and blackened condition of our face, he did not recognize us, although he knew us well; that he was very sympathetic and kind, and soon brought General Bradley T. Johnson (whose office adjoined ours, and with whom we were very intimate); that General Johnson soon got a carriage and took us first, to his home, then at the northwest corner of Foushee and Franklin Streets, and after partially washing the blood and dirt from our face, carried us to our own home, then at the southwest corner of Main and Adams Streets. Our clothes were still covered with the blood and brains of the friends who were killed on us, and we were so disfigured by these, and the swollen and bruised condition of our face caused from partial suffocation, that our own family did not recognize us, and it took some time to assure them who we were. Strange to say, our nervous system was not affected in the least, however, and we believe we were the only person who fell into that dreadful hole, who was in his office and at work the next day.

We have thus tried, in the beginning, to explain why it was that our personal knowledge of the incidents of the disaster is so limited. It is fortunate for our readers, however, that this is so, since the late Mr. Peachy R. Grattan, the reporter of the Court of Appeals at the time, has in the report of "The Richmond Mayoralty Case" in 19th Grattan, given a very clear outline of the main features of the disaster; that shortly after the happening of the event, there was published by Messrs. Ellyson & Taylor, a pamphlet, entitled "A Full Account of the Great Calamity Which Occurred in the Capitol at Richmond, Virginia, April 27, 1870, Together with a List of the Killed and Wounded." This pamphlet is out of print now, and is very rare. We have a copy, however, and have the permission of Hon. J. Taylor Ellyson, the present owner, to use it, as we deem proper, in this paper. We shall, therefore, incorporate so much of this pamphlet here, as will give our readers a graphic and full account of this catastrophe, as taken from the newspapers at the time, and of some of the events immediately following:

FROM THE PAMPHLET.

"Sad—sad, indeed—is the duty of the Chronicler of the events and terrible scenes in our State Capitol on yesterday. Unprecedented in their awful results, heart-rending in their every aspect, and bringing mourning to our entire city, we almost halt in palsied horror. To describe it would be beyond the power of man, and with those who witnessed it, its recollection will remain indelibly vivid as long as life shall last. In sending to a spirit-grieved people our account of this dreadful calamity, we are well aware of our inability to give them more than a narrative of the facts and casualties. The attendant scenes may be imagined, but cannot be described. We give below, as best we could obtain them, a summary of the dreadful events:

THE CATASTROPHE.

"The room of the Court of Appeals was the scene of this horrible occurrence. On the 16th of March last a new city council, appointed by Governor Walker, in pursuance of the provisions of an act of the General Assembly, known as the 'enabling act,' elected Mr. H. K. Ellyson, Mayor of Richmond. The constitutionality of the said act was contested by the incumbent of the mayoralty, Mr. George Chahoon, and ultimately the question was brought before the Supreme Court of Appeals. The arguments of counsel had been heard, and the court, as usual, reserved its

decision. Wednesday, as was generally known, the opinion of the court would be pronounced, and the controversy was to be decided, and an immense concourse of anxious spectators and listeners had gathered to ascertain the result. Members of the Legislature, visitors to the city from all parts of our country, members of the bar, representatives of both police forces of the city, members of the press, and representatives of all classes and conditions of life, were assembled.

“The bells had just tolled the hour of 11, and death like silence reigned as Mr. Starke, the clerk, entered and placed his books on the table. Judges Joynes and Anderson were in their seats. Mr. Starke, leaning over the railing, was talking with them, while the rest of the judges were in the conference room, not quite prepared to enter on their day’s duties. The counsel for Mayor Ellyson, Messrs. Neeson and Meredith, had taken their seats, and were ready to proceed to business. Ex-Governor Wells and L. H. Chandler, Esq., were also in their places, and the reporters of the *Enquirer*, *Dispatch*, *Whig* and *State Journal* were at the desks set apart for their use and accommodation. The moments were spent in pleasant conversation by the spectators present. Various were the speculations as to the final result, when, all at once, a panel of ceiling fell, and then the girder, which is represented by the line of partition between the clerk’s office and the court-room, gave way with an awful crash, and precipitated the spectators who were in the gallery of the court-room to the main floor, and the additional weight in one single moment’s time crushing the court-room through. The mass of human beings who were in attendance were sent, mingled with the bricks, mortar, splinters, beams, iron bars, desks and chairs, to the floor of the House of Delegates, and in a second more fifty-seven souls were launched into eternity. The whole atmosphere was thick with a dense cloud of dust from the plastering, and the human beings sent up a groan which will ring forever in the ears upon which it fell. In a moment, a few survivors clinging to the windows and fragments of hanging timber, and the bare and torn walls were all that remained to mark the place where only a moment before was a scene of life, vigor and hope.

SCENE ABOUT THE CAPITOL.

“The scene about the capitol building just after the sad occurrence was one of terror. The first notice that those who were in the building had of the impending evil was the premonitory rumbling as the floor was settling. Then there came a fearful

crash, accompanied by a cry of human agony and terror which smote the hearts of all who heard it. In a moment the frightful situation was realized. The few who had been so fortunate as to be able to get into the windows shouted aloud for help for those who had fallen, and called for ladders. In a short time the bells were tolling, and the hook and ladder trucks being brought upon the spot, the ladders were put up to the windows, and the work of humanity began. The blinding dust within prevented anyone from seeing anything, and the rushing of persons within the building and the cries of the wounded was all that could be heard.

IN THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

“Here was a scene that fairly made one’s heart bleed. As the dust cleared away a little, a mass of timbers and rubbish of every description was descried, and the reflection of the numbers of human beings crushed beneath its weight, dead and dying, was sickening. Add to this the cries and groans of those who were there, many in the agony of death, and there is a picture to make the stoutest heart quail. The entire hall was flooded with the ruins, except the space under the gallery. Desks, chairs, and tables were crushed completely, showing the force of the falling wreck. The work of removing the *debris* was a difficult one, but was undertaken by those present with a will, and it was not long before the unfortunate men were being rescued from their painful position.

BRINGING OUT THE DEAD AND WOUNDED.

“This scene defies even an attempt at description. The doors and windows of the hall were thrown open, and within were soon collected the busy workers, who, mid their own shouts and the agonizing groans of those they were seeking to rescue, were removing the timbers. As the wounded and dead were reached, they were brought out and placed in the Senate chamber, or else under the trees in the square, where they were attended by our city physicians and others who were on hand with such appliances as could be obtained. As the men were brought out they were so covered with dust that they could scarcely be recognized, and for a while the anxious inquiries of the bystanders, “Who is he?” could not be answered. One by one they were borne out—the dead and dying. Here was one mangled and silently enduring, another crying aloud with pain, while the still form of a third told too well that its spirit had fled to another world. In one moment the gray hairs of age could be descried upon the head

of some dead one, while in the next the tall, manly form of one who had been cut off in the full bloom of life was being borne past. It seemed as if sickening horrors would never cease, and ages seemed to pass in the performance of this sad duty.

ALL HANDS TO THE RESCUE.

"In a few minutes after the alarm was sounded the hook and ladder company arrived on the square and immediately set to work in elevating their ladders. Other firemen followed rapidly and united with the ladder men in attempting the rescue of those who were buried in the ruins. Many of the citizens who hurried to the scene also lent their assistance, but the majority seemed petrified with horror, or feared that the old building would fall in and crush all who ventured near its walls. One by one the survivors of the crash came forth, or were assisted to the open air, each one whitened with plaster dust, or so disfigured by blood and dirt as to be almost unrecognizable.

"There were soon plenty of workers—not only firemen, but members of the legislature and citizens generally—who went boldly and manfully into the midst of the *debris*, and proceeded to clear the hall of the accumulated mass of rubbish, or to bring out the wounded and dead.

"Nearly all who entered upon the work labored untiringly, and their heroic efforts entitle them to the highest praise.

"All the surgeons and physicians in the city were upon the ground as promptly as possible, and rendered all the aid in their power to the sufferers. The Senate chamber was made a temporary hospital and morgue, but most of the bodies of the dead and dying, as well as those not seriously wounded, were taken to the grass plots in the square. Carriages and other vehicles were brought into requisition, and a number of the wounded were conveyed at once to their homes, or to the hospital at the Medical College.

THE SCENE IN THE SENATE.

"The tolling of bells, the rushing and shouting of excited men, and the news of the fearful calamity, which spread like wildfire over the city in an incredibly short space of time, brought an immense crowd of all classes, ages and colors, to the square.

"Hundreds of wives, mothers and friends were constantly filling the grounds, who, with wringing hands, sought, in the despair, to know if any of their loved ones had been of the number mangled. War, with its horrors, its agonies, its sad separations,

its ghastly wounds, its horrible deaths, pictures to the mind no such scene as the one which was yesterday enacted on the square.

“To contemplate such a shocking affair—to see the faces of those who expected each moment to find a near and dear friend borne from the ruins to be cared for on the grounds by the citizens and physicians in attendance—fills the soul with horror and awful fear.

“Hacks, ambulances, and vehicles of all descriptions, were promptly on the ground, ready to convey the wounded away from the scene of disaster to their homes, where they could be cared for, and their wounds dressed to better advantage than in the dense crowd with which they were surrounded. The dead, who had been brought out, were respectfully and decently laid aside and covered with blankets, and afterwards borne away to their bereaved families.

“Policemen were stationed on the steps of the building to prevent the crowd from rushing in and thereby hindering those who were administering to the relief of the sufferers.

ABOUT THE CITY.

“The excitement of the moment over, the beautiful city of Richmond was wrapped in gloom. The popular heart was sad, the voice of woe and mourning resounded throughout the city, and the asperities of life were softened in the sympathy of a public calamity, leaving our people united in grief and in the desire to show their respect for the dead and feeling for the injured. All the business houses of the city were closed and badges of mourning displayed, and save for the number of persons on them, our streets wore the appearance of the Sabbath.

ATTENTIONS TO THE WOUNDED.

“Under this head too much cannot be said in praise of many who labored hard to relieve the sufferers. We cannot particularize, as there are too many to be mentioned separately, but we will only say that the members of the fire brigade, the police force, and many of our citizens, white and colored, labored untiringly in their efforts to alleviate and to render aid in removing the dead and wounded from the ground.

INCIDENTS.

“When the accident first occurred Mr. W. H. Grant was just entering the courtroom. With great presence of mind he rushed to the bell house and had the alarm rung in an incredibly short time.

“Just before Mr. Aylett entered the Capitol he was conversing with a friend about the death of Hugh R. Pleasants, and remarked on leaving, ‘We are all passing away.’

“Mr. Aylett was borne to the plateau north of the Capitol, where he expired. He uttered a fervent prayer before death forever sealed his lips.

“The House of Delegates was not in session when the crash occurred. So far as we can learn, only some fifteen or twenty persons were in the hall at the time.

“The hats and caps taken from the ruins nearest the statue of Washington were thrown at the base of the pedestal, making quite a pile.

“When the tidings of the disaster reached the Tobacco Exchange the dealers adjourned immediately.

“Business was suspended throughout the city after 12 M., and many of the store doors on Main and Broad streets were craped.

“The Capitol was erected in 1792 from plans furnished by M. Cleressault, a French architect.

“One of the sufferers had \$6,000 in his pocketbook, which was taken in charge by one of his friends. It was erroneously reported that it had been stolen.

“All distinctions of color were levelled. The body of Senator Bland was laid out between the corpses of two white men.

“The stretchers and ambulances belonging to the medical department of headquarters were sent to the scene by direction of General Canby. Drs. Rose and King of the army, administered to the wounded.

“It was a fortunate thing that at the time of the accident there was but one lady about the building. Miss Frothingham, a lady from Brooklyn, New York, with her escort, was being shown to the top of the building by Walker Oliver, one of the colored porters. To get up they had to pass up the stairway that led to the gallery of the courtroom. They had passed up, and were between the roof and the ceiling of the courtroom. They had no means of getting out, as the stairway had been precipitated into the ruins. It was finally necessary for Walker to cut his way through the ceiling into the library. In this way

he managed to save the lady and her escort from a very unpleasant predicament.

“Major J. S. Calvert, who had his left leg badly broken, was standing in the clerk’s office near the door, immediately under the gallery. He was looking through the window into the courtroom. He was conversing with R. H. Maury, Jr., beyond whom and on a line were standing Powhatan Roberts and Thomas S. Baldwin. He heard the crash and nearly made his escape, but his left side was caught, and he was borne down into the ruins and covered. He found his right arm free, and with this he managed to get the rubbish from over his head and to breathe. He was under the ruins over half an hour.

“Mr. Adolphus Morris started to enter the courtroom, and when he saw the crowd remarked, ‘It is safer outside than it is in here,’ and went out. He had scarcely gotten out of the door when the accident occurred.

“From a gentleman who went down we get the following: ‘I was standing in the courtroom some distance beyond the centre; I heard a low, rumbling sound, and the floor gave a sort of a jump; I felt myself sinking, and I turned and saw the gallery falling over; I thought it would catch me; fortunately it missed me; I could see the men scrambling over each other in the gallery, and I heard an unearthly yell of anguish that seemed to go up from one mouth; then, with a dreadful crash, I fell into the darkness below; I found a dead body lying on me, a wounded man under me, and another at my side; I heard the man under me say: “Oh! Death, where is thy sting, oh! grave, where is thy victory?” I heard cries of pain, supplications of mercy, and such expressions as, “Oh, my poor wife,” “My poor children,” around me, and in one instant I heard distinctly a sound which I am convinced proceeded from some poor fellow dying from suffocation; many died from suffocation, and I am sure that I would have suffocated had I not been taken out when I was.’

“Major J. H. Kelly, of Fredericksburg, was conversing with Patrick Henry Aylett when the floor fell in. He received no bruises except about the left leg. These are of a very severe and painful nature.

“The various railroad trains arriving in the city were draped in mourning, and the carts and other street vehicles were also appropriately decorated with badges of the same character.

“Mr. Thomas Joynes fell together with Dr. J. B. Brock, and his mouth rested against the Doctor’s cheek. He asked who it was near him. He told his name, and he asked him in case he survived to carry many messages of affection to his family.

With words of endearment and love for those he left behind he died.

“Mr. Rush Burgess fell on top of a gentleman whose name he could not learn. He asked, ‘My friend, can you not move a little?’ Mr. Burgess replied, ‘No, I cannot stir.’ ‘Well,’ said he, ‘I must die. Good-bye.’

“During the time in which Hon. George William Brent, of Alexandria, was covered in the ruins, Mr. Chandler, who was between the window and Mr. Brent, was endeavoring to get away, when Mr. Brent caught him by the arm and begged him, for God’s sake, to let him get some air, but in Mr. Chandler’s position it was impossible for him to move until assistance was rendered. In a short time, however, he was taken out and his life saved.

“We learn from Mr. Chandler that Mr. Samuel A. Eaton was sitting on the back of his chair when the floor fell through. Eaton was killed, and Mr. Chandler not seriously injured; such escapes are most remarkable.

“The conservative caucus which had met in the hall of the House of Delegates adjourned not many minutes before the calamity. Fortunately there had been a dispute about the judgeship of Henry county, and an adjournment was necessary. Had this not been the case, more than half of the legislature would have been crushed.

“Dr. Thompson, member of the House of Delegates from Hanover, was caught under two men who were instantly killed by a heavy falling beam. He himself was slightly injured.

“Mr. P. H. Keenan was buried beneath the ruins for three-quarters of an hour, and was found nearly suffocated under the dead bodies.

“Among the killed was a Mr. Burnham, of New York. Mr. R. C. Burkholder, one of the members of the House from Lynchburg, hearing that Mr. Burnham was a relative of one of his constituents, a well-known builder of Lynchburg, at once sought out the body, which had been temporarily deposited for identification in the City Hall, and had it placed in a splendid metallic case, and made arrangements to have it deposited in a private vault at Hollywood until called for by friends.

“That portion of the floor on which the judges’ platform was erected did not go through with the rest, as there was comparatively little weight upon it. Judges Joynes and Anderson escaped to the conference room, and were followed by Mr. Pizzini of the Whig, and several others, who had struggled through the mass of rubbish and reached the platform. Colonel

McPhail was leaning against the mantel, and clung to it until he obtained a foothold. His arm was badly injured by the plaster falling from above. Mr. Wm. Taylor, grocer, of this city, grasped a window sill near him and held on until assistance came.

“A large number of those who went through sustained no other injury than a severe shock and a few bruises or cuts. It is marvellous that so many escaped death from the falling timbers and heavy plaster ceiling of the courtroom which must have fallen upon the crowd.

“During the fearful accident in the courtroom, Dr. W. M. Withers was standing on the hearth near the northeast window of the room. He felt the floor giving way beneath him, and clung to the mantel until relief was afforded him. He states that he at once saw the condition of affairs, and knew that there was but one chance for escape, and availed himself of it. His partner, Captain C. C. McPhail, was in company with him, and saved himself by clinging to the mantelpiece and then climbing to the window. We have already heard of several remarkable cases of this kind and have been amazed at the hair-breadth escapes.

“Major John W. Daniel, of the House, says of his escape:

“‘Happily for a number of us near the bench, a narrow margin of the room about the breadth of the bench clung to the walls—the bench itself being unoccupied and not so much strained, and throwing ourselves forward we grasped the railings that guarded it, and thus held on at the very brink of the vortex. The railings, too, protected a good many from the timbers of the ceiling by breaking the force of their fall. McCaul was the first one of those clinging to the railings to extricate himself from the *debris* of the ceiling which covered us—and in that spirit of gallant and unselfish courage which makes hearts warm toward him, he paused to help those of us who were less fortunate, instead of making good his own safety. The door of the conference room, where the judges were in consultation, happily opens at that end of the hall, and soon those who were not pinned to the floor climbed through the ruins, and through it reached the uninjured portion of the building and the open air, and assistance came to those confined and wounded. McCaul, Mahood and myself, with the exception of slight bruises, were not hurt, and Greer and Hatcher were equally fortunate.’

“Captain Roberts of the Steamship Albemarle, was standing near the elevated judge’s platform engaged in a pleasant conversation with Mr. W. C. Dunham, the agent of the Old Dominion Steamship Company, and Mr. Julius A. Hobson. He did not dream of danger on hearing the cracking of the rafters, attributing it to some noise outside the room. The Captain informs us that he found himself buried in plaster and other *debris*, but managed to breathe with difficulty until extricated, some thirty or more

minutes after the disaster. Near him lay a gentleman who was continually urging his fellow sufferers to be of good cheer, that help was at hand, and they would soon be rescued; and the encouragement of this (to him unknown) hero was music in his ears. Suddenly another crash, and, like an avalanche, down tumbled the entire ceiling into the courtroom, silencing forever, he fears, the voice and heart of this brave and unknown friend; for he heard him no more. Captain Roberts was bruised from head to foot, and so covered with dust that his friends could only recognize him by his voice.

HEROIC CONDUCT.

“One of the most remarkable incidents of the day was the miraculous escape of Mr. D. B. White, member from Elizabeth City, and coupled with it, it is our pleasure to note his conduct, which was truly heroic. He fell through the floor, and, strange to say, was not hurt in the least. *He did not leave the spot for a moment*, but remained through to the close, working manfully in the endeavor to rescue the sufferers. Such courage and humanity as this deserve great praise.

THE THEORY OF THE ACCIDENT.

“From conversations with several who were in the courtroom at the time of the fall, we learn the following as the true theory of the accident: The large girder which was under the partition between the clerk’s office and the courtroom snapped in twain, and immediately afterwards the floor commenced to cave. The support of the crowded gallery having given away, it parted from the wall and fell over into the centre of the courtroom, crushing through the floor and precipitating the mass of human beings and rubbish into the hall below. We examined the girder and found that it had been broken off just in the centre. It was hewn timber, and just where it broke off was a cut, as if the workmen in hewing had made a mislick and driven his adze into the wood about a quarter of an inch.

HORRIBLE DEATH.

“The most terrible feature about this whole affair is the heart-rending manner of death in the majority of instances. Many of the dead, when brought out, were found to be without serious bodily injury, but had evidently died from suffocation. The mere contemplation of such a thing is sickening. Hard, indeed,

was the fate of those who had escaped death from the falling timber, in the end to die from the untold agonies of suffocation.

AN OLD RELIC GONE.

“If we may be pardoned for any consideration of loss other than that of human life, we will mention the smash-up of an old and much honored relic of bye-gone days, the Speaker’s Chair of the House of Delegates, which was formerly used in the House of Burgesses, decorated with the royal arms of Great Britain. It was subsequently moved here from Williamsburg, and has been used in the House of Delegates ever since. It was buried and broken in the ruins, but was afterwards taken out and will be repaired.

EXPRESSIONS OF SYMPATHY ELSEWHERE.

“As soon as the news of the extent of the calamity had been spread over the country, telegrams expressive of sympathy and condolence began to be received in Richmond. Public meetings were held in Raleigh, New York, Washington, Baltimore, and other places. The Illinois Constitutional Convention passed resolutions of the same kind. Material aid for the sufferers was also soon forthcoming from generous men in other cities. Mr. Hart, of New York, and Mr. Childs, of Philadelphia, each contributed one thousand dollars. Liberal collections for the same purpose were also made in Baltimore, Washington, New York, and other places. Our own people were not wanting. So many of them have contributed according to their ability that we omit the names of all. Individuals in other places also sent their contributions. In fact, it would seem as if this terrible accident had proved that one touch of Nature makes the whole world kin.

A LIST OF THE KILLED.

(Fifty-eight were killed outright and four others died later from wounds.)

- Aylett, P. H., attorney-at-law.
- Bland, J. W. D., senator from Prince Edward.
- Brock, Dr. Joseph B., reporter *Enquirer*.
- Blamire, James A., druggist.
- Baughan, John, Chesterfield.
- Brewis, T. A., commission merchant, Alexandria, Va.
- Brown, Charles (colored), waiter at Mrs. Spotswood’s boarding house.
- Burnham, S. E., Blaston Springs, Saratoga county, New York.
- Branch, Charles.
- Bradshaw, R. E.
- Charters, William A., chief engineer fire department.

- Coleman, P. Sidney.
 Cox, Sergeant James T., police.
 Cray, William R., police.
 Davis, W. H., coal merchant.
 Donnan, D. S., firm of Donnan & Sons.
 Dugger, D. S., citizen.
 Dunn, William, old citizen, Venable street.
 Forsythe, Captain H. H., Staunton.
 Eaton, Samuel A., clerk mayor's court.
 Foley, Thomas P., deputy marshal.
 Grady, Hugh G., former merchant of this city.
 Grinnan, Charles J.
 Howard, N. P., attorney-at-law.
 Hix, Samuel, Lynchburg.
 Hobson, Julius A., formerly city collector.
 Hutchinson, Hugh M., Henrico county.
 Hairston, Major Samuel H., Henry county.
 Hisbie, Mr., police.
 Kirby, Captain James, captain of artillery during the war.
 Kerr, John, police.
 Levy, Ash, citizen, formerly merchant.
 Lynch, B. W., Manchester.
 Maury, R. H., Jr., land agent.
 Meanley, Mr. ———
 Massey, John D., Goochland.
 McCarthy, Michael, police.
 Meagher, John R., police.
 Newman, John, merchant, Broad street.
 Quarles, Thomas H., son of Thomas D. Quarles.
 Roberts, Powhatan, attorney-at-law.
 Robinson, B. F., Cumberland, county.
 Randolph, W. E., supposed from New York.
 Robertson, Rev. John, colored.
 Ryan, J. C., police.
 Schofield, E. M., city assessor and brother of General Schofield.
 Seay, James A., police.
 Schultz, police.
 Turner, John M., son of Major F. P. Turner, and page in the House of Delegates.
 Taylor, G. S., Richmond county.
 Thompson, William H.
 Tourgee, Captain D. G., police.
 Webb, Lewis N., former merchant.
 Woolfolk, Col. Pichegru, Henrico county.
 Watson, Charles, clerk at Danville depot.
 Ward, Edward, Tredegar Works.
 Walker, James M., police.
 Wilcox, Thomas, H., attorney-at-law, Charles City county.
 Baldwin, Thomas S., clothing merchant.
 Cullingsworth, Thomas.
 Dunham, W. C., agent Old Dominion Steamship Company.
 Robertson, Jos. R., carpenter.

A LIST OF THE WOUNDED.

Angle, Mordecai.
Alley, D. H., ex-policeman.
Antelotti, D.
Allen, William, policeman.
Allen, Joseph, watchman.
Allen, Captain G. W., harbor-master.
Anderson, M. T.
Binford, Thomas M.
Beine, Anton, merchant.
Blair, Matthew.
Bouldin, Colonel Wood.
Brent, Colonel G. William, attorney-at-law, Alexandria.
Bevill, R. Dudley.
Boeock, Hon. Thomas S., Lynchburg.
Burwell, William (colored).
Bolling, Stith, member House of Delegates from Lunenburg.
Bolling, Colonel G. W., Petersburg.
Bell, Major H. M., member of House of Delegates from Staunton.
Bell, Henry, member of House of Delegates from Matthews.
Burgess, Dr. R. U., member of the House from Southampton.
Beverly, Robert, of Fauquier.
Burgess, Rush, collector of internal revenue for Third District.
Bowen, H., of Tazewell county.
Beekman, B. H.
Bradford, Daniel, Jr.
Burnett, Robert, Henrico.
Beckwith, Harvey, of California.
Bishop, Charles, Petersburg.
Blum, G. L.
Blankenship, B.
Bradshaw, John.
Bosher, George L.
Bartlett, Jas., of Manchester.
Butler, John T.
Bethel, Elisha, Jr.
Bloomer, George.
Brazeal, W. C., coal dealer.
Binford, Thomas M.
Bradford, Tucker.
Clark, James, H., colored barber.
Chandler, Hon. L. H.
Connors, Thomas.
Cauvert, Major John S.
Campbell, Dr., Shenandoah.
Campbell, W. E.
Corse, General M. D., Alexandria.
Cavanaugh, —————.
Christian, George L., attorney-at-law.
Chesterman, W. D., reporter and correspondent.
Cannon, Henry.
Clayton, Gus.

Chase, J. T.
Carroll, Thomas.
Connally, John K., attorney-at-law.
Crane, John.
Chahoon, George.
Daniel, Major John W., attorney-at-law
Dowden, Jack.
Dabney, La Vega.
Dalby,, Driscoll, Daniel
Duesberry, A. Bohannon.
Doyle, Mike.
Davenport, John, merchant.
Deane, Otis, of the gas works.
Ellyson, H. K.
Elam, W. C., newspaper correspondent.
Epps, Charles, captain of police.
Ellis, James, grocer.
Edmondson, Isaac, colored.
Frayser, W. H., street car driver.
Finney, John, fireman.
Fields, Thomas B.
Fontaine, William, colored.
Fowler, E., of *Bristol News*.
Fowlkes, George W., captain of police.
Fogarthy, H. H.
Fitzhugh,, of Fredericksburg.
Green, T. William.
Gathright, William.
Green, George S., of Fredericksburg.
Glenn, Peter D., bricklayer.
Grattan, Peachy R., attorney-at-law.
Gentry, Charles W.
Goodman, W. T.
Gilmer, J. Harmer, attorney-at-law.
Gotleib, B. W., grocer.
Green, M. V.
Green, Pisagno.
Goode, Jas. W.
Ghio, Guiseppe.
Green, N.
Hawkins, A. J., police.
Haines, Walter, of Henrico.
Harris, Robert B., an old citizen of Church Hill.
Hoppe, W. A.
Howison, R. R., attorney-at-law.
Herndon, Charles, Senator, of Fredericksburg.
Hull, sergeant police.
Hunter, Isaac H., colored, messenger of city council.
Howard, R. T.
Holt, John T., Charles City county.
Hart, John.
Handy, Moses P., of the *Dispatch*.
Hoy, P. H., Chesterfield.

- Hord, Benjamin H.
Hale, Jas., Manchester.
Hill, E. B.
Harvie, Beckwith, California.
Howard, John, attorney-at-law.
Howe, E. S., Boston.
Hinton, N. J.
Howard, Daniel, colored.
Irving, Thomas.
Irving, John.
Jones, P. K., colored, member House of Delegates from Sussex.
Jones, Alcides, of Louisa.
Jacobs, S. B.
Joynes, Thomas R., son of Judge William T. Joynes.
James, Sergeant A. J., police.
Jones, William A.
Johnston, Peyton.
Jones, H. F., Warwick county.
Kelley, John C.
Kelley, J. H., of the *Fredericksburg Herald*, and member of the House of Delegates.
Keenan, P. H.
Keegan, John.
Kendrick, Senator from Carroll county.
Lindsay,
Lyon, T. K., Governor street.
Langford, Thos. H.
Lee, Francis, formerly of Nova Scotia.
Loth, J. H.
Lee Frank.
Lee, John, colored.
Lewis, John H., colored barber.
Lacy, George.
Larkin, Patrick, Seventeenth street.
Leffew, A. D.
Lumpkin, C. A., police.
LeTellier, Stephen D.
Linneman, A. H.
Mosely, Thos.
Meredith, Judge John A., attorney-at-law.
McCaulley, John.
Mosely, Thos.
Maroney,
McRae, Col. Sherwin, attorney-at-law.
Miller,, Montgomery county.
Murphy,, No. 109 Jackson street.
Maury, W. A., attorney-at-law.
Matthews, William, member of the House from Loudoun.
Mahood, F. W., Giles county, member of House of Delegates.
Murray, John M., clerk First National Bank.
Mosby, Chas.
Mothern, William.
McCaulh. John A., of Roanoke, member of House of Delegates.

McKenney, A. S., Fredericksburg.
McCoy, R. E., of Petersburg.
McKay, Walter fire brigade.
Massie, R. S.
Moore, S. K., Charles City.
Moore, Captain Samuel P.
Nowlan, Thos.
Neeson, Jas., attorney-at-law.
Nunnally, Lawson, Esq.
Nolley, Rev. George W., of Caroline.
Nowlin, Judge A. W. C., of Carroll county.
Oberk, John H.
O'Dell, E. P.
O'Dwyer, sergeant B. Kendall, of the police.
O'Connors, Thos.
Oliver, Jas.
Parker, Col. A. K.
Pendleton, Dr.
Parrish, W. Marshall.
Pemberton, Captain William.
Pleasants, Henry A., of the *Dispatch*.
Phillips, Fred. W.
Porter, L. M.
Pisagno, Green.
Page, Wm. A.
Peebles, A. T., magistrate.
Read, Jas. C.
Robertson, Capt. R. N., Steamer Albemarle.
Roberts, Capt. R., Manchester.
Rowe, Wm. Wallace, Marshall street.
Rogers, Winston.
Ryan, Jas.
Ronald, Col. Chas., formerly of the 27th Virginia.
Roane, Richard, of Charles City.
Roane, James, of Charles City.
Rawlston, Peter W., formerly City Auditor.
Richardson, Wm. T., printer.
Ricker, Beverly.
Redding, Dennis B.
Smith, Wm.
Strother, Judge John R., of Culpeper, a member of House of Delegates.
Stubbs, J. N., member House of Delegates from Gloucester.
Sullivan, P. C.
Smith, Wm. A., of Gloucester.
Sherman, Dr., guest at Ford's Hotel.
Soper, H. Horace, of Baltimore.
Shelton, I. C., member from Stafford.
Smith, Capt., W. B.
Strasberry, D.
Schleisher, S.
Sutherland, P. H.
Shultrus, Augt. L., Troy, N. Y.
Schultz, August, police.

Snead, W. Daniel.
 Schlaciler, Got.
 Scott, Thos. H.
 Shell, Wm.
 Sedgwick, Jno. R.
 Sizer, Wm. T.
 Sims, Edward.
 Steele, Robert A., Knoxville, Tenn.
 Taylor, Wm.
 Tyler, John.
 Tyler, Thos. A.
 Townsend, Henry, Norfolk city.
 Terry, A. J., sergeant police.
 Tanksley, Mark.
 Terrell, Joseph.
 Thompson, Dr., member from Hanover.
 Tompkins, W. R.
 Taylor, Attorney-General, J. C.
 Vaiden, Albert, colored.
 Watts, Judge Legh R., of Portsmouth.
 Woodson, C. J., of Goochland.
 Wood, Wm. Sears, tinner.
 Wells, ex-Governor H. H.
 Wilkinson, captain of the police.
 Wilson, John.
 Wilson, Thomas E.
 Wren, Daniel.
 Wheeley, W. B.
 Williams, W. E., policeman.
 Wilson, Albert L.
 Wilson, F. C.
 Woodhouse,
 Watts, James H., colored porter for senate.
 Waller, B. F.
 Walton, Ben.

The day following the disaster, a great public meeting of people of all classes and conditions was held on the Capitol Square in front of the southern portico of the Capitol. Governor Walker presided, and after a few feeling and appropriate remarks, he called on the Rev. Moses D. Hoge, D. D., who offered a most impressive and appropriate prayer. A committee of thirty, with Judge William W. Crump, as Chairman, was appointed to report suitable resolutions, and reported the following:

"With hearts crushed and bleeding, with a mournful and overwhelming sense of our great bereavement, we have assembled to testify our sorrow for the dead, to offer our tenderest and deepest sympathies for the living, and to mingle our tears with the stricken households over which the angel of death has so suddenly passed. With heads bowed in reverential awe before the Great Disposer of Events, we contemplate

with shuddering anguish that fearful and terrible catastrophe, which has hurried into eternity our friends and our fellow citizens.

"This fearful disaster, which has brought lamentation and mourning to us all without distinction, has, in the universal sorrow it has diffused, touched that chord of sympathy among us which makes all mankind kin."

"Nor has this great calamity been confined alone to this mourning city; but it has cast its sombre shade throughout and beyond the limits of Virginia.

"In the Capitol of our State, within the honored precincts of that hall where justice sits supreme among us—in a time of profound tranquillity— at a season when Nature is renewing her life under the glowing warmth of a vernal sun, when, in unison with the spring-time, heart and hope rose highest—without warning, in an instant, death, the remorseless, has snatched from life some of our most valued citizens, conspicuous alike in public and private life, and occupying every position of usefulness among us.

"Though accustomed by years of painful experience to the sight of wounds and death, these were the inevitable hazards of war to those who stood upon the perilous edge of battle; and though nature would have voice, and tears of anguish would flow, yet there was wanting to our grief the keen pang which has pierced our hearts in this unexpected and stunning shock, which has bowed our souls in woe under its dread dispensation. More than two generations have passed away since our people have been called to mourn a catastrophe so portentous. It is fit that we should follow the example of our fathers, and bend before the Great Jehovah in humiliation and in prayer, and ask for His mercy and His grace to support us in our heavy affliction. Be it, therefore,

"*Resolved*, That we mourn with profound sorrow the loss which our State and our city has suffered in the death of her citizens. That we offer with saddened hearts and tearful eyes our profoundest sympathies to the bereaved and to the suffering, and fervently pray that as their days of affliction are, 'so may their strength be.'

"2. That Wednesday next, the 4th of May, be set apart as a day of humiliation, prayer and religious service, on which day the people of this city are requested to assemble in their respective places of public worship, at such hours as may be designated by the clergy, who are respectfully invited to co-operate in the purposes of this resolution."

Judge Crump, Judge Robert Ould, Hon. A. M. Keily and Governor Wise each then made most eloquent and feeling addresses, which touched every heart present, already bowed and bleeding in the presence of the great calamity and universal sorrow.

In addition to this general meeting, other meetings were held, as follows:

Of the "*Richmond Press Club*," to pay a tribute to Dr. J. B. Brock of the Staff of the "*Enquirer*," who was killed.

Of the "*Richmond Press*," to pay tributes to Hugh R. Pleasants and Patrick Henry Aylett.

Of the "*Policemen and Firemen*," to make suitable arrangements for the burial of their dead.

Of the "*Survivors of the Young Guard*," to pay a tribute to Captain Wm. A. Charters, formerly a member of that organization, and at the time of his death chief of the fire department of the city.

Of the *Board of Underwriters*, to pay a tribute also to Wm. A. Charters, the secretary of that board.

Of the *Survivors of the Howitzers*, to pay proper tributes to R. H. Maury, Jr., H. M. Hutcheson, David Donnan and Thomas H. Quarles, members of that organization.

Of the *Corn and Flour Exchange*, to pay a tribute to Ash Levy.

Of the *Richmond Chamber of Commerce*.

Of the *Richmond Bar*, to pay tributes to the memory of Nathaniel P. Howard, Patrick Henry Aylett and Powhatan Roberts.

Of all the members of the several committees appointed at all these meetings, we note but *two* survivors: Wm. P. Gretter and James H. Dooley.

It is scarcely necessary to say, in conclusion, we recognize that the recitals here set forth are literally a "tale of woe," from the beginning to the end. The recording of that story has been anything else than a pleasant task to us, *first*, because it relates to and records a part of the history of this city and State that all of us look back to with pain and sorrow. Had the people of the South been responsible for the causes which produced these conditions, we would feel ashamed and humiliated for the rest of our lives, as doubtless the authors of these conditions have long since felt, and would, if they could, obliterate the deeds of that period from memory and from our history. These deeds, and the scenes as here portrayed, are, however, a part of our history, made so by our *quordam* enemies, and, we think, "our childred and our children's children" have a right to demand of us that we tell them of these things, of the "deep waters" through which we had to pass, and how their fathers and their mothers bore themselves "in the midst of that flood."

The condition of the city of Richmond to-day is the best proof we can offer to this last enquiry. Another very sad reflection to us is the fact that of the two hundred and fifty-one wounded in the disaster, only six, as far as we know, are now alive, and all of the principal actors in the events here recorded, some of them our dearest friends, have "gone to their reward," and, therefore, we feel like saying, with Scott in Marmion—

"When musing on companions gone

"We doubly feel ourselves alone."

When General Lee was asked at the close of the war, whether, or not, he intended to leave the South, as some of his great lieutenants had done? He replied, "I think the South needs the aid of her sons now, more than at any period of her history. As you

ask my purpose, I will state that I have no thought of abandoning her unless compelled to do so." This great man never spoke nobler words than these, and his splendid example was followed by most of those who had followed him in battle. It was well for the South they did so. We almost shudder now, when we think of the trials through which we passed in the days of "Reconstruction," and of the condition the people of the South would have been left in, if her true sons, those who had fought and bled for her in war, had forsaken her then. We think this is something for the young men and women of to-day to think on now. When they look upon

"The old Confederate Veteran whose life is in the past

"The war cloud like a mantle round his rugged form is cast;

"He hears the bugle calling o'er the far and Mystic Sea,

"For he tramped the fields with Stonewall, and he climbed the heights with Lee."

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